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TWELVE PAGES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 1899.

THE CITY'S NEW TAX LIST.

It is with some degree of apprehen-
sion that we await the final outcome
and the ultimate disposition of the
"annual budget," at the hands of the
councils. The question of city taxation
is so closely allied to city prosperity
and municipal and political peace and
comfort, that it is to be regretted that
any change in the old condition of af-
fairs proved necessary. It is likewise
to be regretted that a great many ad-
ditional, and in several instances, hum-
ble callings and trades had to be bur-
dened with a special license tax. The
action of the councils in increasing sal-
aries was accepted, at the time, as an
earnest of an easy financial condition.
It is then much to be regretted that so
large a bonded issue has been allowed,
upon which annual interest must be
paid, or that any salary or other an-
nual expense should have been in-
creased if the burden is to fall upon
the people in additional tax or license.
Upon the abstract principle alone, of
taxing a luxury in preference to a ne-
cessity, it would appear more proper,
and in accordance with the usual mode
of taxation, to have allowed the whis-
key tax to remain unchanged, rather
than increase the rate of taxation, in-
crease the license for doing business,
or to require a license tax of business
and callings heretofore considered as,
and permitted to be, free from taxa-
tion. It is, therefore, most sincerely
to be wished that the final action of
the councils will be such as to meet
the approval of the people.

THE MAY CONFERENCE MUST BE
DISCREET.

Few recent subjects have so inter-
ested Virginians and engaged their ser-
ious attention as that of the choice of
U. S. Senators; and the great major-
ity of Virginia Democrats look for-
ward to the 10th of May conference in
Richmond with eager expectation and
solicitude. While full of hope that it
will result in wise counsel, they are not
without apprehension that the very
magnitude of the assembly may tempt
it into indiscretions. The greatest dan-
ger is that it may assume to act by
the authority of the people, or the
Democratic party, and that it has un-
limited powers of discussion and recom-
mendation at least.

This conference in May, however, has
no party authority, nor popular power
beyond that of discussion and opinion,
and even in these spheres it is lim-
ited in honor and good faith to the scope
and direction fixed in the call for it.
It is not a convention, either party,
popular, or constitutional; as it is called
by no organization, and consists of all
Democrats who choose to attend and a
few delegates of party mass-meetings
in some counties. This being so, it
must act, or attempt to act, decisively
on nothing, and only by way of opinion
and recommendation; and even in this,
it must avoid wholly the question as to
who should be nominated.

Of course, it must not nominate, nor
attempt to nominate, anybody, as the
terms of the call and the nature of the
body, both exclude that business un-
til the mode of nomination or recom-
mendation by the people be decided in
due form, which, of course, will carry
the whole matter of actual nomination
outside of and beyond the conference,
which is only advisory. To nominate,
whether actually, or in effect, is not in
conformity to Democratic law, or pre-
cedent, of the confer-

ence, at best, could only justly claim
to be an independent candidate.

It is well known (and we are glad
to see that Senator Daniel agrees with
us) that THE VIRGINIAN-PILOT pro-
poses and urges, as the best modus vi-
vendi, until the Federal Constitution
be amended as desired, that every Dem-
ocratic primary election or convention
that nominates a candidate for the
General Assembly shall also, at the
same time, instruct or advise the nomi-
nee that, if elected, his constituency de-
sires him to favor Mr. Blank for U. S.
Senator. Whether an actual nomina-
tion of a U. S. Senator outside of the
Legislature would not be a positive vi-
olation of law, so long as the U. S. Con-
stitution remains as it is, may be in
doubt; but it will be more prudent and
decent, at all events, to do no more
than instruct the respective candidates
in the matter on their nomination.

If a convention be called by party au-
thority to actually nominate a Senator
whom the Constitution plainly says
shall be "chosen" by the Legislature,
will be certainly very indiscreet policy
toward the Constitution and very dan-
gerous policy, if unnecessary, as all
State conventions are dangerous at all
times, and are to be justified only in
the necessity of the occasion. But it
is obvious that there is no necessity in
this case, as the people who nominate
a legislator can instruct him as to their
preference for Senator; and the possi-
bility of multiplicity of candidates, under
this mode, can make no real difficulty
if the lowest candidate on each ballot
be dropped, whether in caucus or in
the final election by the joint Houses of
the Legislature.

Another consideration must not be
overlooked, or intentionally ignored. A
constitutional General Assembly is to
be chosen this year by the people at
the November election. They are all
constitutional delegates of the whole
people, as well as party delegates of
their constituents, authorized by the
Supreme law of the land to "choose"
U. S. Senators, and this General As-
sembly is to exercise that constitu-
tional power, right and duty. If a party
State convention be called and held,
what superior or confidential relation
do its delegates hold to the Democratic
voters above or different from that the
Democratic members of the House and
Senate hold to the Democratic voters
who elected them?

How will legislators regard this de-
legated interference with their delegated
and constitutional trust? It is no tri-
vial question. The legislators may
justly resent this intrusion of party
managers, when they would accept it
as part of their duty as delegates of
the people to obey the instructions re-
ceived from the people who nominated
them at the time of nomination and
before they were elected legislators.
Think of it.

The Samoan troubles grow worse.
The United States' recent experience in
foreign ventures with the European
powers is somewhat like that of the
country rat to his city cousins. The
bushwhack fighting between the two
native Samoan factions proceeds daily,
with savage fierceness; and we are told
that the Captain of the German ship,
Falke, has been arrested while distrib-
uting arms and ammunition to Matafa's
adherents, and that he is imprison-
ed on board the British ship Porpoise,
which is stationed on one side the
Falke, with the American ship Philadel-
phia on the other, the Falke being
notified that if she moves the two ships
alongside will unite to blow her to
pieces. The story comes straight, too, ap-
parently, though it is said to be scouted
in Washington as incredible. But it
may be truth, for all that. Are we to
be drawn with England into a war with
Germany, that will probably involve all
the powers of Europe, on one side or
the other, before it is concluded? Pray,
no!

But if it happen, as it may, since we
have departed from our "isolation" to
mingle and "entangle" in European so-
ciety and politics, where will it all end
for us, the people of the United States?
For "isolation" destroyed, we may incur
desolation; and we may be sure that
once in the maelstrom, we shall not get
out in a hurry, nor without great loss,
especially of peace and independence,
for when we relinquished our "isola-
tion," or natural exemption from Eu-
ropean entanglements, we threw away
the shield that gave us our chief pro-
tection from evil.

One of the oldest axioms is "that one
must be just before he is charitable."

A safe business motto is "to keep
your expenses within your income."

Out of whose pocket comes increased
license and taxation, and into whose
pocket does the money go?

"The laborer is worthy of his hire,"
but how much more?

We have observed that office-seeking
grows on some of our fellow men like
any other habit.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Wealth is the creature of labor. When
you speak of the dollar, the gold, the
silver or the paper dollar, you speak of
that amount of human labor represented
by the dollar. A concentration of
wealth is the concentration of the fruits
of labor. The concentration of wealth
by legislation means the concentration
of the fruits of human labor by legisla-
tion. It means that, by process of law,
the fruits of those who labor are taken
from them and given to others. It means
that wealth controls and regulates
labor; that the creature controls and
regulates the creator. The wealth
which exists only by reason of the
sweat and blood of labor is by process
of law turned upon to control and to
ruin that, and that only, which brought
it into being.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT'S
HOME STUDY CIRCLE

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DIRECTED BY PROF. SEYMOUR EATON.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY
WILL BE PUBLISHED.

EVERY SUNDAY—
History—Popular Studies in European History.
EVERY TUESDAY—
Geography—The World's Great Commercial Products.
EVERY WEDNESDAY—
Governments of the World of To-day.
EVERY THURSDAY AND FRIDAY—
Literature—Popular Studies in Literature.
EVERY SATURDAY—
Art—The World's Great Artists.

These courses will continue until June 26th. Examinations conducted
by mail, will be held at their close as a basis for the granting of Certificates.

GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD OF TO-DAY.

VI.—SWITZERLAND.

BY FREDERICK W. SPIERS, PH. D.

If we attempt to gauge the import-
ance of Switzerland by the space which
she occupies upon the map of Europe
we shall wonder why a chapter of this
course has been allotted to her. Her
picturesque mountains and valleys cov-
er an area less than one-third as large
as the State of New York, while her
total population, about 3,000,000, is a
half million less than the population
of the metropolis of that State. But in-
significant as she is from the stand-
point of area and population, the little
State of Switzerland rightfully claims
a place in this course on the govern-
ments of the world side by side with
the great nations of Europe, for with-
in her narrow boundaries there has de-
veloped the most perfect type of demo-
cratic government that the world has
yet seen.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FED-
ERATION.

The governmental history of the lit-
tle cantons which make up the pre-
sent state of Switzerland is a thrilling
story of the persistent struggle of a
handful of simple herdsmen, farmers and
handicraftsmen for the dearly prized
right of self-government. Away back
in the early medieval period we find
these mountain dwellers organized in
small communities stubbornly resisting
the attempt to impose upon them the
arbitrary authority of the feudal sys-
tem. As early as the thirteenth cen-
tury the three forest cantons about
Lake Lucerne united in a league for
mutual protection and thus created the
germ of the present confederation.
Gradually the league grew and during
the troublous times of the middle ages
a strong confederation guarded the li-
berties of the Swiss people.

The pact reaction from the strongly
centralized government established by
the French conquerors weakened the
league, then religious dissensions arose,
and finally in 1848 seven Roman catho-
lic cantons seceded. For four years two
independent leagues nominally existed,
but in 1847, after a short war, the se-
ceding cantons were forced back into
the original confederation. A new con-
stitution was formed immediately af-
terward and this constitution of 1848, re-
vised extensively in 1874, is the pre-
sent basis of the Swiss government.
Thus the federal process which has
been at work for 600 years has finally
built a strong federal republic.

The present confederation is made up
of twenty-two cantons, which in their
governmental relations to the nation re-
semble very closely the states of our
American union. Like our states, each
of these cantons is sovereign with refer-
ence to all governmental functions ex-
cept those expressly delegated to the
national government by the federal
constitution.

THE CANTONS.

The cantons differ more widely than
the states of the American union in the
detail of their government, but there
are certain common principles of
organization running through them all.
In eighteen of the twenty-two cantons
there are legislatures elected by uni-
versal suffrage. Each consists of a sin-
gle house, the members of which are
elected for terms varying from two to
five years. The executive power in all
of the cantons is entrusted not to an
individual as in the United States, but
to a commission, usually of five or
seven members. This executive coun-
cil is independently elected by the peo-
ple, but its most important acts are
subject to the revision and approval of
the legislative body. The Swiss people
do not accept our American theory of
separating as widely as possible the de-

The cantons which maintain this sys-
tem of legislation by mass-meeting af-
ford the best illustration in the world
of pure democracy applied to the gov-
ernment of a state. We have in this
country a similar democratic assembly
in the New England type of town meet-
ing, but in our case the scope of the
democracy is purely local, while in the
four Swiss cantons all the questions
arising in a sovereign state are dealt
with by mass-meeting.

THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE.

The existing federal government is
an enlarged copy of the cantonal gov-
ernment in many respects, although
certain features of the United States
federal system were introduced by the
makers of the constitution of 1848. The
legislative power of the confederation
is vested in an assembly composed of
two houses. This form of the legisla-
ture reveals foreign influence, for the
cantonal legislatures all consist of one
house. In composition these houses
bear a close resemblance to the two
houses of the American congress. The
house which corresponds to our senate
is called the council of states and is
composed of forty-four members, two
from each of the cantons. This ar-
rangement for representation of the
constituent cantons is manifestly sim-
ilar to the representation of states in
our senate. But instead of following
our precedent in prescribing a uniform
term and uniform method of choice the
Swiss constitution leaves the determi-
nation of these matters to the cantons,
with the result that in some cases mem-
bers are chosen by the cantonal legisla-
tures, in others by the people, while
the term varies from one year to four
years.

The body which corresponds to our
house of representatives is called the
national council. This house is made
up of members chosen by direct popu-
lar vote for a three years' term. The
members are apportioned among the
cantons on a basis of population, one
representative for each 20,000 people.
The national council now has 147 mem-
bers.

The two bodies which make up the
federal assembly have equal legislative
powers. The council of states has no
special executive functions. In this it
differs from our senate, which in ad-
dition to its legislative duties has the
peculiar executive function of confirm-
ing appointments and ratifying treaties.
The diversity of race of the members
of the Swiss confederation is curiously
reflected in the discussions in the fed-
eral assembly. Each member speaks
in the language which he prefers and
the debate is conducted in three
languages, German, French and Italian,
while all formal proceedings are read
twice, once in German and once in
French.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE.

In constituting the executive Switzer-
land has followed cantonal models rather
than those of its sister republics,
the United States and France. The
federal executive is collectively called the
federal council. Like the United States
president, the federal council has a president and a vice president, but the president of the Swiss
confederation is simply a chairman of
an executive council of seven members,
elected every three years by the two
houses of the national legislature. In
joint session the executive policy is
determined by a majority of the coun-
cil of seven members and the president
has no more influence in administration
than any other member of the council.
He is simply the official representative
of the republic in foreign relations and
the head of the government for cere-
monial purposes. The president and
vice president are chosen annually from
the members of the council by the fed-
eral assembly and neither can fill the
same office for two successive terms.

The members of the executive council
have the privilege of introducing mea-
sures and participating in the discussion
of the legislature, but they have no
vote. In this respect they occupy an
intermediate position between the mem-
bers of the American cabinet, who have
no right even to speak in congress, and
the members of the British cabinet,
who not only speak but vote in parlia-
ment. Each of the seven members of
the council preside over a special de-
partment of administration, acting thus
in the same manner as our cabinet
officials.

The political conservatism of the
Swiss is strikingly exemplified in the
history of this executive body. Al-
though it is possible to change com-
pletely the membership of the execu-
tive council every three years, a practical
life tenure is secured for competent
officials through repeated re-election.
During a period of forty-five years from
1848, when the present system was es-
tablished, only thirty-one different in-
dividuals had held seats in the federal
council. This conservatism keeps men
in the council without regard to the
political changes in the assembly, and it
thus happens that the majority of the
council often does not coincide with the
party majority in the electing body.

THE COURTS.

A federal system demands a federal
court to interpret and apply the na-
tional law and to decide conflicts of
jurisdiction between nation and state
or canton. The Swiss judicial system
is constructed on the same general
principles as that of the United States.
Cantonal courts correspond quite closely
to our state courts, while a single
federal tribunal composed of fourteen
judges elected by the federal assembly
for six years fulfills functions similar
in a general way to those exercised by
our United States courts.

GROWTH OF FEDERAL POWER.

It is not difficult to amend the Swiss
constitution, and both by formal
amendment and by broader interpreta-
tion of the original grant of power to
the federal government the scope of
the authority of the confederation is
growing rapidly at the expense of the
independence of the cantons. The can-
tons are too small to provide ade-
quately for their citizens many of the
facilities demanded by modern civilization,
and the general government is gaining
strength through the recognition that
co-operation in public works is desir-
able. Other forces are tending to weld
the cantons into closer federal union
and the powers of the Swiss confeder-
ation are thus constantly widening.

REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE.

Switzerland is universally recognized
as the most democratic of governments.
In four cantons pure democracy prev-
ails, and in those which are too large
for government by mass-meeting the
people have developed a system which
enables them to set aside at will the
judgment of their representatives and
to vote directly upon important mea-
sures. This system is the plan of refer-
endum and the popular initiative.
Under the referendum the measures framed
by a representative legislative body are
referred to the people for approval or
rejection by majority vote. Referendum
is of two kinds—optional and obliga-
tory. Under the first form the people
may petition for the submission of a
particular law to popular vote; under
the second form all laws must be sub-
mitted for popular ratification. Under
the second or obligatory form the leg-
islature becomes simply a body for the
framing of legislation. The real law-
making body is the people. All the
cantons save one have the referendum,
about half the obligatory form and half

the optional form. The German can-
tons use the referendum most freely.

The federal government has had the
optional referendum since 1874. On de-
mand of 30,000 citizens a federal law of
general application must be submitted
for popular ratification by majority
vote. During the first twenty-one years
after the adoption of the referendum
system twenty laws passed by the fed-
eral assembly were submitted upon
petition, and of these six were ratified
and fourteen rejected.

The initiative is the logical comple-
ment of the referendum. The Swiss
people were unwilling to be confined to
the power of passing upon measures
which the legislature saw fit to propose
and so they adopted a plan which en-
ables a body of citizens to frame a law
and bring it before the people by peti-
tion. All but one of the cantons au-
thorize the initiative for constitutional
amendment, and nineteen out of the
twenty-two permit the proposal of or-
dinary laws by popular petition. In the
confederation the popular initiative ex-
tends only to the proposal of constitu-
tional amendments, which must be sub-
mitted to the people when 50,000 vot-
ers petition for this action. The initia-
tive has been little used in either can-
tonal or federal government.

The operation of the referendum has
been watched with intense interest by
students of political science. Opinions
of competent observers with reference
to its usefulness differ widely. The
conditions for its success are most favor-
able in Switzerland. A population of
relative equality of wealth and of high
traditions of self-government, is surely
good material for an experiment in
democratic control of legislation. The
results have not been conclusive of the
value of the system. The most inter-
esting result is the demonstration of
the conservatism of the democracy.
This conservatism has been brought out
strikingly in the disapproval of a pro-
posed law to give daughters an equal
share of inheritance with sons, and in
the refusal of the people to approve
moderate factory regulations proposed
by the legislature. In many persons
are urging the adoption
of the referendum, hoping thus to se-
cure sweeping changes in our law.
Careful examination of the experience
of Switzerland reveals little to justify
such a hope, although it is impossible
to predict American action from Swiss
results, for the conditions in the coun-
tries are essentially different. Never-
theless the largest federal republic in
the world has much to learn from the
smallest in the school of democracy.

EXAMINATIONS AND CERTIFI-
CATES.

At the end of the term of seventeen
weeks, a series of questions on each
course, prepared by Professor Seymour
Eaton, will be published in the Vir-
ginian-Pilot, and blanks containing the
questions will be furnished every sub-
scriber making application for same.
Two weeks will be allowed after the
courses close, for the receipt of exami-
nation papers containing answers.
These papers will be referred to a
board of Examiners, who will assist
Professor Eaton, and as soon as the
work of examination is complete, the
result will be reported, and certificates
issued to the students entitled to them.

Special Reduced Rates
For a Few Days Longer

Many new patients have begun my
treatment during the past two weeks
UNDER MY OFFER OF SPECIAL RE-
DUCED RATES and many others have
stated their intention to begin soon.
To give all a chance I HAVE DETER-
MINED TO EXTEND THE TIME DURING
WHICH I WILL RECEIVE PA-
TIENTS AT REDUCED RATES TO
MAY 1, 1899. THE OFFER IS SIMPLY
THIS: IF YOU BEGIN MY TREAT-
MENT BEFORE MAY 1 I WILL
TREAT YOU UNTIL CURED AT
ABOUT HALF MY USUAL RATES.
The next 2 or 3 months are about the
best in this year for the treatment of
Catarrh, being free from extremes of
heat and cold, and hence recovery is less
retarded by catarrhal colds. IF YOU
EXPECT TO TAKE A COURSE OF
TREATMENT AT ALL, BY ALL
MEANS BEGIN NOW. You will save
both money and time by so doing. Posi-
tively no one received at these reduced
rates after May 1, 1899.

L. B. FINE, M.D.

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All colors are in fashion.
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We believe we understand blending of
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As many, many ladies have expressed
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